

Resist This Anti-People, Pro-Capitalist Pro-Monopolist Ordinance

Central Committee Statement

The Central Committee of Socialist Unity Centre of India in a statement on the "Additional Emoluments (Compulsory Deposit) Ordinance", 1974 has stated :

"This ordinance has once again exposed the hollowness of democratic socialism of Indira Gandhi's Government and its out and out anti-working class, pro-capitalist and pro-monopoly character. If the Government and its economic advisers do not intend to conceal the truth regarding the causes of unbearable inflationary condition in our economic life in order to put the burden of Government—capitalists created inflation on to the shoulder of the already hard hit working class and the common people then the promulgation of this ordinance has proved beyond doubt how irresponsible, callous, incompetent and reactionary can a Government and its economic advisers be in grasping the real nature of the inflationary conditions that are constantly pushing our economy and the life of the common people to ruination.

"The Central Committee is convinced that this ordinance can in no way curb the inflationary trend in the least, on the contrary, it will aggravate the very problem and add to the spiralling of prices and consequent fall of value of money in so far as it will lead to further curtailment of already low purchasing capacity of the common people resulting in more contraction of internal market which in its turn will further dampen the whatever little urge for capital investment for production is there. This will again act as a brake in the process of raising the production-level without which all talk of putting a check on the dangerous inflationary trend in our capitalist economy is nonsense.

"It is not the "wage-price spiral"—the fanciful theory of the Government

and its economic advisers—that is responsible for the present inflationary condition, rather the inflationary trend and the price-rise of all commodities are the inevitable outcome of the law of maximum profit of the present day capitalist economy which has been further accentuated by the anti-people, pro-capitalist, pro monopolist policies of the Government such as the unbridled deficit financing to meet up the continuously increasing expenditure on unproductive defence industry, huge expenditure on useless nuclear experiments and all other unnecessary and exorbitant expenditure on top heavy administration, extortionate indirect taxation, inflationary credit policy, complete failure of the Government to check black-money and black-marketing, failure in creating conditions for widening of internal market and augmenting production, particularly agricultural production and finally refusal on the part of the Government to introduce all-out state-trading in all essential commodities.

"Had this ordinance been really a measure at all to prevent in the least the current inflationary trend and to that extent been able to increase the value of money and raise production-level, the workers would have accepted it ungrudgingly in spite of their tremendous sufferings at present.

"But since this measure for immobilising money will only worsen the condition of already hard-hit working class and the common people and aggravate further the inflationary trend, it is a pure and simple criminal act which tantamounts to robbing of workers' money by forcing

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the workers to deposit the whole of additional wages for a period of one year and one-half of additional dearness allowance for a period of two years with the Government under the pretext of fighting inflation.

"The Central Committee urges upon all sections of common people to raise their voice of protest against this ordinance and close up their ranks for building up of a united mass struggle in order to compel the Government to immediately repeal this ordinance and to link up this struggle with the task of anti-capitalist, socialist revolution in India."

Com. Banerji's condition unchanged

The condition of Com. Subodh Banerjee, member of the Central Committee of the SUCI continues to be same. Comrade Banerjee was admitted to the Tropical Hospital, Calcutta, on June 11 in a critical stage following the relapse of leukemia.

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On some Vital
Problems of Peasants'
Life

—Shibdas Ghosh

More sinister attack on working People in Offing

Thanks to the spineless petty-bourgeois leadership of the reformist Parties, the railwaymen's heroic battle which symbolised in it the deep-set anger of the exploited masses against the crushing burden of Capitalist exploitation, has met a tragic end. The elated bourgeoisie with the direct help of a subservient government have come out with redoubled vigour not only to crush the democratic movements but also with a more sinister design to rob the working people of their hard-earned rights and gains. Proposals for moratorium on strike, stoppage of payment of wages and suspension of labour laws in this respect of the striking workers during strike period, curtailment in the quantum of minimum bonus or its linking with productivity, suspension of variable D. A., with increase in price indices, wage-freeze under cover of national minimum wage standard,—a vestiable spate of measures are in the air when the industrial production has come down to an appalling low of one per cent in a year and price index touches new record of about 10 P. C. rise in a single month.

It is therefore time for the working people to gird their loins for a mighty, united, programme-based, sustained movements to defeat the dangerous moves of the bourgeois government and to that end to put pressures to bear upon the left and democratic parties and forces for immediately forging a United Front as well as to take particular care to bring the political-ideological leadership of the real working class party and the base political line of proletariat in the van of this mighty struggle against the Capitalist exploitation which is the fountain-head of all sorts of miseries and disorder.

Planning For Newer
Offensives

Immediately after the withdrawal of the railway-

men's strike, greeted by the gleeful tributes of the monopolists, the Cabinet, it seems, is busy to draw a blue print to defend further the aggregate interest of the ruling bourgeoisie. Joining in the gleeful chorus, K.K. Birla, President of FICCI, "was happy that the government was tackling the railway strike firmly" and counselled the government "a moratorium on strike and lock-out at least for five years." He further demanded the extension of the period of repayment of term loans from seven or eight years at present to fifteen years etc. Mr. Russi Mody, Managing Director of TISCO, in a speech in Calcutta, pontificated "both in our

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On Some Vital Problems of Peasants' Life

[We give below a brilliant exposition of the problems of peasants' life made by our leader, teacher and the guide Com. Shibdas Ghosh. This is a synopsis of his speech delivered on the occasion of the open session of the South 24 Parganas District Conference (West-Bengal) of K & K.M.F. held on March last. For any inappropriate expression or inaccuracy the translator will remain responsible—Ed-P. Era]

Friends,

You have all assembled here on the occasion of the open session of the South 24 Parganas District Conference of Krisak & Khet Mazoor Federation. The present situation, when this conference is being held, is, by all means, very critical. The condition of livelihood of the entire people is faced with serious crisis.

What is the real picture of people's life, to what magnitude the sufferings of the people has reached, how the prices of all essential commodities are rising in unprecedented dimension and also how alarming has become the economic crisis of the common people are all known to you and you yourselves have had the bitter experience of it. Naturally, I don't feel any necessity to speak elaborately on the acute economic sufferings of the people, or to deal on those things with narrations and statistics the pinch of which you yourselves are feeling in your daily life. The question, which I feel to be very important, is—how is it that people of India have to undergo such a tremendous sufferings in spite of the fact that we have abundance of natural resources—a very fertile soil which can create marvel—coal, iron, copper, gold etc. in the mines, unbounded forest resources and above all, the labour power of a bout 53/54 crores of people? Twenty-six years have passed since the independent, national state has been established in India. So the plea of plundering of the natural resources of India by the foreign imperialists causing the present distress of the common people is absolutely untenable. If there is any exploitation by the imperialists today, that too is taking place because the present capitalist Government is giving them that opportunity, otherwise not. The Congress leaders, immediately after independence started saying that it is not

possible to remove the malady which had accumulated for a long period of two hundred years at a single stroke. We admit that it is not possible to remove this deep-seated disease in one day. But is it not expected that we should have proceeded at least by twenty-six inches during the period of twenty-six years? It is obvious from all accounts that this expectation of the people has been completely belied. On the contrary, if you ask any old man you will get the unmistakable answer that the situation today has become worse than that of the British period in so far as the questions of price-rise, police atrocities, unemployment problem, mockery in the field of judiciary and all-round administrative corruption etc. are concerned. All the aged men will certify that the conditions of life under British rule was not so much suffocating as it is today. In fact, the number of unemployed and half-employed, which ought to have been reduced during the past 26 years, has increased unthinkably both in rural and urban areas. There is not probably a single country in the modern world, not to speak of the socialist countries, where the per capita income is so much low. Knowing as we do that the point of per capita income is a deliberate puzzle created by the statisticians as it includes even the income of the monopolists and persons belonging to the category of financial oligarchy and therefore presents just an average picture and not

the real income of the lowest rung of our society, still then it was 36 P. in our country just the other day the value which has been further eroded to 19 P due to price rise in the meantime. Now if we exclude the income of the richest sections of our society then we can easily imagine what a disastrous picture that will present!

Wage increase alone is no solution

It is true, that those who are engaged in this or that kind of employment their income in terms of money has definitely been increased since independence. But the rate of price-rise of all essential commodities and other cost of living in general have been many times greater than the rate of wage-increase of the working people. It is known to all that the economic condition of the common people was very precarious because of low wage compared to the then price index even before independence. So today when the gap between the wage and the price-index has been unthinkably widened due to unprecedented rise of prices of all essential commodities and other cost of living compared to a very nominal wage-increase, if any, it is not at all difficult to fathom the depth of hardship of people's life. The standard which any family could maintain previously with much less income is not possible to maintain in spite of earning more money today. So it is not possible to grasp the nature of the problem correctly only looking at the increased salary. To have a clear picture of the problem we will have to examine whether the increase of income of the working people in monetary terms has been commensurate with the price-rise of essential commodities or not. We will have to examine whether there has been a proportionate increase of wage corresponding to price-rise at every stage keeping the ratio of the

average income of the working people to price line the same as before. Judged from this point of view it will be crystal clear that there has been a sharp fall in the real wage of the working people in spite of increase in wage in monetary terms.

Thus increase of salary in monetary terms has not only failed to improve the condition of livelihood of working people that existed during the pre-independence period but the condition of livelihood of the working people has been further deteriorated due to unprecedented rise of prices of all essential commodities of life.

So it is clear that the vital problems of people's life cannot be solved only by some increase of emoluments. It is true, that both the industrial workers and the agricultural labourers are engaged today in their grim battle for higher wage. Even if they become successful to increase their wage through these struggles for which, of course, they may have to shed heavy blood, give so many lives—mothers may have to lose their sons and wives their husbands because of indiscriminate firing, lathi-charges and all sorts of repressive measures adopted by the Government, but one thing is sure that this wage increase will never be able to neutralise the evil effect of inflation and price rise that is supposed to take place in the meantime.

Not only the increased amount of wage which the workers are getting through their blood-shed, but more money is being eaten up, more money is being robbed away from their pockets by the rise of prices of all essential commodities and other cost of living on the one hand and fresh imposition of direct and indirect taxes by the government on the other. This is why increased wage can no longer bring any relief to the people.

Under the circumstances, we will have to find out the root of all

evils and know what is the main problem before the workers, peasants and the middle class of both rural and urban areas. If we fail to realise these fundamental questions then any amount of anti-Congress slogans, any amount of fiery speeches against the Congress will turn into an useless exercise. That the Congress has pushed the whole country to ruination, is known to all. Most of the people understand what has become the lot of the people during the Congress rule. I do not think that there is any honest, conscious and right-thinking man who really loves Congress. Only some handful persons who are well-to-do, self-seekers and social high-ups, who move with petty considerations and are always after taking opportunities from the Congress or from the capitalist state have become the social support of the ruling party. Of course, it is true that after the split of the old Congress into Cong. (R) and Cong. (O), the ruling Congress has been able to create a so-called image of radicalism, a so-called Indira image among a considerable section of the people due to the support lent by both -CPI and CPI(M) to Cong. (R), due to the weakness of the revolutionary movement and also due to the low standard of political consciousness of the people. But this is absolutely a temporary phenomenon and already there has been a fast disillusionment of the people as to the character of the ruling Congress during these years after the stabilisation of Governmental power. So what we have to do is to remove the illusions of the people, clarify different misconceptions which the Congress leaders create every now and then by hoodwinking and giving bluff to the people. But the main question that you must understand is—what is the root cause of the distress of the common people, what specifically

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Land has been transformed into a means for investment of capital for producing commodities to be sold in the national capitalist market for maximum profit

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we shall have to do in order to free ourselves from all sorts of exploitation? There are some political parties who preach and claim that if people can oust congress and vote them to power then and then only the golden age will be established. I say, these are pure and simple nonsense and out and out bluffs. Those who make such claims are hoodwinking the people and are out and out treacherous, no matter how far they are vociferous against Congress or not. There is a famous saying of Lenin about such persons that they are wolves in sheep's clothings. Lenin warned the exploited masses not to be misguided by the sweet words and fiery speeches of these wolves who appear before the people in sheep's clothings only to hide the truth from them.

Capitalist exploitation—the root of all evils

You must bear in mind that it is the capitalist state-structure, the capitalist economy that is responsible for the present exploitation and oppression of the people. Whether in mills and factories of towns and cities or in the agricultural economy of the villages it is the capitalist relation of production that is working; everywhere the production is being governed by the owner and wage-earner relationship.

That the character of production in mills and factories is capitalistic is not very difficult to understand. Even the nature and character of our rural economy today has been mainly transformed into capitalist economy based on capitalist relation of production. Although there are wide variations in view of relative backwardness which express themselves in diverse forms depending on specific detailed conditions—still then it must be admitted that in rural economy also every-

where the relation of production is basically capitalistic governed by profit-making motive and owner and wage-earner relationship. There are both owners and wage earners. Some workers are getting their emoluments on monthly basis and there are some who receive there emoluments as daily wage. There are also some workers who get a portion of their salary in terms of food, the rest in money; there are some others who get the entire wage as their share in crops. So whatever may be these variations in the forms, all of them are nothing but wage-earners. If you approach the problem from another angle, you will find that it is the capitalist relation of production that is governing the rural economy today. In fact, what do we mean by the term capitalism? The fundamental law of capitalism is to get profit by investing capital either in land or in industry. That is investment of capital for production and raising further capital by selling the produce in the market.

In capitalist system the capitalists invest capital in mills and factories and produce commodities by selling which in the market they earn maximum profit. They earn this profit by exploiting the workers, by expropriating the surplus value created by the labour power, by depriving the workers of their legitimate wage. This we call capitalism.

Let us now examine, what is the real picture of rural economy today. Is it a fact that those who own land today, produce—just like the feudal system, mainly for their consumption and in order to have some money for meeting the other expenses of daily life they sell the rest of the produce in local market which in turn is governed by the law of localised agricultural economy? Is it a fact that the prices of the

agricultural commodities are being fixed at the dictates of the law of localised agricultural economy which is mainly stipulated by the principle of demand and supply of a particular local market? Rather, the reality is this that all agricultural commodities have been transformed into the commodities of the national capitalist market. Peasants do know all this. Even a layman can understand by listening to radio news that the prices of all agricultural commodities are being controlled by share market, wholesale market and the stock exchanges. The owners of land are selling their agricultural produce at the prices fixed by these agencies and are getting profits out of it. Thus land today has been transformed into a means of investment of money in the form of capital just as in industries for earning profits. Investment of capital in land is creating turn-outs of profits. In this regard, we should also remember the Leninist teaching that it is the nature and character of trade and commerce governing the agricultural commodities that mainly determine the character of agricultural economy. Judged from that point of view, you will find that—firstly, the heavy concentration of land in the hands of the few, secondly, continuous increase in the number of landless peasants, agricultural labourers and semi-proletarian strata of peasantry having a small holding of land in rural areas and, thirdly and finally, the transformation of agricultural products as the commodities of national capitalist market instead of being commodities of localised agricultural market, conclusively prove that our agricultural economy also is a capitalist economy. Only those who refuse to fight the existing capitalist system and overthrow it through revolu-

tion, those who are interested in shifting the burden of capitalist exploitation and bourgeois class rule on to the shoulder of less significant and less important forces thereby distracting the attention of the masses from the real enemy to a fake one and those who move with a sinister motive to protect capitalism and allow capitalism to consolidate can only deny this truth. This is not important at all whether they talk of Marxism-Leninism or not, whether they speak against the Congress or not, whether they shout slogans against monopoly or not but the revolutionary struggles of the masses have nothing to do with it.

Because, one question must be thoroughly examined—why we are at all anti-Congress. Is it because of any personal animosity or because of the fact that we are not getting any share of the pelf and power that the Congress leaders are enjoying today? No, absolutely not. We are anti-Congress because Congress is protecting by all means, by hook or by crook, the present exploitative capitalist state and the capitalist economy, which I have already shown, is the root cause of the sufferings of the people. So, there is absolutely no point in simply being anti-Congress if you are not at the same time anti-capitalist, if you do not take any programme of anti-capitalist socialist revolution. So, it is crystal clear that there is no difference between the anti-Congressism of those political parties who are not anti-capitalist, who do not have any programme of anti-capitalist revolution in spite of their talking of Marxism-Leninism, and posing themselves as Marxist-Leninists and the anti-Congressism of the parties like Cong(O), Pragati, B.K.D, S.P., S.S.P and others. People must not be misled by these forces, not only the latter but also the former—who

are acting as typical social democratic forces, as the forces of compromise between labour and capital. If the people are really interested in their emancipation, then they must know that they can give defeat to capitalism only by giving complete defeat to all the varieties of social democratism. I would request you to recall a famous teaching of Stalin who said that "it is impossible to put an end to capitalism without putting an end to social democratism". Those who do not understand the significance of this historic teaching will not understand why, while moving unitedly with CPI, CPI(M) and others in united fronts or combinations the SUCI constantly tries to politically expose the social democratic tactics and games of these parties in the mass struggle.

Political Power of the People Must be Developed

This capitalist exploitation is the root cause of all sorts of sufferings of the people. If we do not understand this point very clearly, if we fail to acquire this essential political consciousness then all our struggles for proper land distribution, higher wage and democratic right will end in a fiasco and fail to ameliorate the sufferings of the people and the emancipation of the working people and the toiling masses will remain a far cry. The movements which are being built up daily on the basis of different democratic demands have ups and downs; sometimes you will be able to achieve your demands as some other times you will lose your battles. Sometimes you may proceed two-steps forward, sometimes you may have to retrace four steps back till finally the capitalist system and capitalist state is overthrown and the socialist system and the socialist state is established. But unless you achieve appropriate

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GOVT'S REPRESSION ON RAILWAYMEN INSPIRES MONOPOLISTS TO URGE FOR

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political and personal life we do not have the essentials for running a democracy." So, short of other things, he wants the U.S. form of Presidential rule. And a Delhi journalist's report that, "for the past many days hush hush talk is being heard that ideologues to the Prime Minister are reading about Gaullism. Some are doing exercises even on a Gaullist constitutional model for India..." will perhaps assure this Tata's man that if not of U.S. form, a French model is in active consideration for the Great Lady! But on top of all lesser souls, the Grand Peter in the industrial world, Mr. Tata is also in the field. With an air of injured innocence, he gently takes to task the erring politicians. In an article, "Issues involved in the railway strike", (Eastern Economist 31st May '74) he not only gives admonitions but does not forget to give solid counsels to the government. Listen :

"Our government unconsciously committed a blunder by giving its blessings to a provision for minimum bonus of four per cent unrelated to profit or productivity. Surprising still was the fact that over a period of time, our tribunals, politicians and responsible ministers through their frequent utterances have encouraged the belief of the trade unions that bonus is a supplemental or a deferred wage."

He bemoans that his suggestion to the Bonus Review Committee and the Central Labour Minister, "to let the employees absorb the original four per cent bonus as a permanent part of the wage and whatever additional bonus which the Bonus Review Committee may choose to grant...be related to profit or productivity" was not heeded. But "such corrective action even at that stage could have resulted in delinking the wage from the concept of bonus" And "With such rectification, the government could

ALL-OUT ATTACK ON WORKERS

have faced the railway workers with a clear conscience that bonus is related to profit or productivity and had nothing to do with wages" [Italics ours—Ed. P. Era].

So his particular piece of advice here is for the government to accept his suggestion of delinking bonus from wages before the B.R.C. gives its final recommendations.

Secondly, the great captain in the industrial world has shown that his heart is full of piety for the 85 million unorganised industrial workers in rural and urban areas because a grave injustice has been done to them, "in a lopsided wage structure which is a product of the whims of tribunals on sheer plea of social justice without specific guide lines." But a good investor as he is, he makes no bad investment on emotions. Mr. Tata's mercy is quite out-spoken on its terms. So he writes, "I have often pleaded for formulating wage guidelines and for establishing a high power wage commission to evolve a rational wage structure after tri-partite consultations based on our national objective of economic growth with social justice." [Italics ours—Ed. P. Era.]

What this "national objective of economic growth with social justice" connotes, we will see later on. But now listen to Mr. Tata's third point. He writes, "The National Labour Commission advocated, as a general rule, collective bargaining with a right to strike. However, the commission, realising that in certain essential services, on failure of negotiations, the employer was not in a position to exercise the corresponding right to lock-out against a possible threat of strike, recommended that a short list of essential services should be laid down by Parliament, where the right to strike should be withheld. Unfortunately, the government has not so far thought it fit to implement this recommendation of the

N.C.L..." Mr. Tata reminds the government that "this philosophy which has a lot of logic behind it, had it been accepted, then there would have been no need to resort to DIR and MISA which are frankly safeguards against breach of law and order and has no legitimate place in the sphere of industrial relations normally. So, his particular advice is for the government to accept the N.C.L. proposal under which, "all employees in essential services by an act of Parliament are ipso facto presumed to be recruited on a contractual obligation. As such they can not go on strike, which would endanger their job." And "our government which has in its wisdom amended our Constitution 33 times can certainly put through an amendment to this effect even now to avoid a nation-wide coercive action by an important section of workers". [Italics ours—Ed. P. Era A 'holy war' cry !

And to the last point, Mr. Tata presumes that the government had to resort to an extreme step of suspension of labour laws and Payment of Wages Act "on the basis that railway having been declared an essential service, the strike by the workers was illegal." He however wants the government, now wiser with experiences with railways and other public undertakings, "not to ignore the plight of the private employers in similar situation" !

In the bourgeois world, there is a 'lead and follow' dialectics between the master and the servants. The master directs the servant to clear the way for him to tread. Here, the same rule.

The Central Cabinet is busy in its business. The Cabinet Committee on Political Affairs met on 30th May last "to explore the possibilities of evolving a national wage policy." It is reported that the three-hour discussion of the Committee centered round a note prepared by the Labour Ministry. It

further says that "Before the meeting started, the Prime Minister, it is learnt, advised her Cabinet colleagues not to leak anything about the deliberations to the press and the hush hush manners adopted by the ministers who attended the meeting raised the apprehensions that the Cabinet might actually have decided upon something very drastic in the monetary field under the cloak of wage policy... It is believed that a solution to the problem of wage parity raised by the rail strike...would also be evolved through the proposed national wage policy which would establish a relationship between the type of work done and the level of wage received for it." (Economic Times—30.5.74—Italics added)

The next day, the same paper circulated a UNI news :

"There will be no wage increase by the government or the public sector undertakings except in regard to the minimum wage for the next few months in view of the inflationary pressures in the economy... Any new wage board would also be set up only for giving shape to informal agreements among the parties concerned—labour and management—on the quantum of the rise." [Italics added]

This is said to be the consensus of the Cabinet sub-committee. And it is the so-called 'drastic' measure in the 'monetary field' !

Further, "A national policy on the question of payment of wage during the strike period: the consensus is that such wages should not be paid or adjusted against leave, unless the strike was owing to unfair labour practices adopted by the employer."

All undiluted bluff. By itself an unfair labour practice, the provision which militates against labour laws of any civilised society will be at the hands of the government who as employer has set the pernicious example of its use as a coercive weapon against the railwaymen in

their recent historic strike.

The newspaper reports further say that it is felt necessary in the government circles that "the strike should be banned in the essential services and the industries in the core sector. There should be a form for the settlement of grievances and disputes of workers in such industries."

It means, bereft of their powerful weapon, the workers will have to surrender to the dictated terms of the management. And this sort of 'industrial peace' will dawn on this land !

The government is, it is reported, actively considering about total stoppage of variable DA to the Central government employees under the so called cover of containing deficit spending. It is said that the DA revision which has been done four times in past one year and the fifth is already due and another 8 point rise in index in a single month, May '74, would mean in all probability more than doubling the budgetary provision of Rs. 120 crores in this regard, in the last budget. The Third Pay Commission while retaining the provision of variable D. A. in the background of ever accelerating inflationary trend, made a further recommendation that the pay structure would need a thorough review if the index figures touch 272 point. It could not however foresee that such situation would arise only eighteen months after publication of its report !

The mischievous move of the government is directed to befooling the exploited people to believe that it is not the inflation that gives rise to the need for increasing the money wage of the poor wage-earners to minimise the erosion of their purchasing power to a little extent, for a brief period though, but money wage increases lead to inflation. The real causes for this run-away inflation lie in the government's specific economic and fiscal policies,—all to serve the class interest of

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Build up united struggle on correct revolutionary line to defeat

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Centre's anti-working class policies

the ruling bourgeoisie and in the very Capitalist exploitative system particularly in the context of the third stage of overall crisis of world capitalism. Such policies are, in particular: printing of notes of thousands of crores of rupees and thereby inflating the money supply at a dangerous level, imposing thousands of crores of rupees of excise duties and such other indirect taxes on all the necessary articles and allowing the industrialists and traders to mint extra profit by increasing prices more than the tax incidence, providing loans to the tune of hundreds of crores of rupees through the nationalised banks to food-grains dealers for hoarding of food grains and feeding the blackmarket. The government being the defender of this exploiting class, does not raise its little finger against the rapacity of this class. But it has struck, with all its might of the state power, the exploited people. It seeks to rob them of their hard earned trade union and other democratic rights and the little gains in bonus as a part of wages, a variable D. A. in the context of ever-spiralling prices and, above all, their inalienable fundamental right to live not on other's toil but on their own sweated toil. The capitalists as social parasites demand more of this sweated toil denying a bare existence to the exploited toilers. And in this 'holy mission' (!) they surpass in hypocrisy and rapacity, the capitalists of western Europe and America. At least they do not say that this is what is called "national objective of economic growth with social justice"; they do not pass it for socialism!! Let us take a quick glance at bare facts to see the veracity of our contention.

Price Inflation : Capitalist World vis-a-vis India's Picture

Indian economy now witnesses a run-away inflation. As a newspaper analyst puts it, if these

trends are any indication, "the inflationary epidemic" is as virulent as ever and, in view of the lean months ahead, a further and an even accelerated pace of price increase is on the cards.

The all-India consumer price index for industrial workers (1949=100) was higher by a whopping 27.9 P.C. in April 1974 over the level obtaining a year ago. This on top of a rise of 13.5 P.C. in 1973 over the corresponding period of 1972. As a consequence of the steep rise in prices, the value of the rupee has been eroded to just 29 paise in April 1974 as against 37 paise a year ago and 42 paise two years ago.

An attempt is being made by the rulers by their oft repeated utterances that price inflation is an international phenomenon, meaning thereby that others in the world are suffering and therefore we are in good company and should not complain.

Let us see, how far truthful is this statement of our rulers.

India. What is the position?

TABLE 2

Year	Cereals	Pulses	All commodities
1962	104.0	117.4	104.1
1963	107.7	121.7	107.9
1969	197.5	226.4	168.8
1970	202.1	243.9	179.2
1971	199.0	258.2	186.1

So, although the average shows a mere 86 P.C. increase, the particular items index shows 200 to 258 P.C. increase, within 10 year's time in the cost of these essential articles. Now, it is known to all that the cost of living is usually the function of the quantum of pattern of expenditure and of prices paid for consumer goods. Even if pattern of expenditure and quantity of goods consumed remain unchanged the rise in prices increases the cost of living. This rising cost of living should normally be met with rising income. But what is the position of the wage-earners of India, in this respect? Is it the same with the wage earners in other Capitalist countries? The data, so far available will expose

and 15% of the average European salaries. An average worker in Bombay has to toil the hardest to purchase goods and services listed. The food basket means 12 days of work for the Bombay workers, which is almost ten times the effort required in New York and three times the average of other cities. Similarly, for clothing and services, the man-hours required to effect the purchase are the highest in India. A Bombay worker is required to work about 24 days before he can hope to be comfortably housed. This shows that while for the workers in the western capitalist countries price inflation was far less in comparison to India's, the wage level is also far higher in relation to Indian workers,

The figures show unmistakably that income in giant bourgeois countries like the U.S.A. and Japan is far more equitably distributed than in India. In India the top 10 P.C. account for 36 P.C. of the total income of the households while it is 28 P.C. in the U.S.A. and 24 P.C. in Japan. What a 'socialism' the 'national objective of growth with social justice' aims to achieve!

So, the line is clear for the rulers. It should equally be clear for the exploited people. It must be the base political line of the proletariat—the revolutionary alliance with the landless and poor peasantry with the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie neutralised, for overthrowing the bourgeois class machine of coercion—the present bourgeois state and its replacement through a successful socialist revolution—a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This can only be achieved by developing the democratic movements of the exploited classes which will have to be conducted to have the necessary revolutionary preparations, under the ideological-

TABLE 1

(Economic Times—April 13, '74)

Index number of whole sale price in different countries :

Country	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971
India	112	122	138	160	153	156	168	177
Iran	104	107	106	106	107	—	—	—
Pakistan	100	107	112	128	132	130	133	—
Thailand	94	97	111	119	115	103	103	103.8
Japan	100	101	103	105	106	108	124	111
U. S. A.	100	102	105	106	108	113	117	120

It is, therefore, obvious that in so far as rise in prices is concerned, India takes the pride of place! The wholesale price index numbers in India increased by 77 PC. between 1963 and '71, i.e. in a period of 8 years, while the U. S. A., Japan and even Pakistan could not achieve that much, their increase figures being, 20%, 11% and 33% (before war). So, it is an undiluted lie that inflation has been more or less of the same dimension in all the bourgeois countries. Moreover, where the poor wage-earners are concerned most, the food articles, (cereals and pulses) register far steeper rise in

the tissues of falsehood in the propaganda of the bourgeois leaders.

It is seen that consumer price indices for industrial workers and urban middle class have risen by 202 and 180 P.C. between 1960-61 and 1970-71 period. Has the wage increase or by way of neutralisation, DA increase has been of the same ratio? The answer is positively in the negative. A comparative analysis shows that of the 12 selected cities of the world Bombay (selected from India, having the highest salary rate) is at the lowest rung of the ladder with salaries. It is only 7% of the U.S. salaries

both are in serious disfavour causing dangerous erosions in real earnings.

Now to the point of 'social justice'.

political leadership of the real working class party which in Indian soil, is our party, the SUCI. So, it (Contd. to Page 8)

TABLE 3 :

Personal Income Distribution In Selected Countries.

Percentage distribution of household income.

Country	year	Bottom 10 P.C.	Bottom 20 P.C.
U. S. A.	1959	1.3	4.6
Japan	1963	3.0	7.7
India	1967-68	1.8	4.8

	Bottom 60 P.C.	Top 20 P.C.	Top 10 P.C.
	32.4	43.0	27.8
	37.6	40.0	24.0
	25.8	53.3	36.5

(National Council of Applied Economic Research All India Household Survey of Income, Saving and Consumer Expenditure, December 1972, p. 70)

It is the nature and character of trade and commerce that mainly determine the character of rural economy

(Contd. from Page 3)

political consciousness there will remain two possibilities—when you will win, you will count too much on that, may even remain content with it and become a victim of revisionism; conversely, the defeats that you will have to encounter, may push you all to succumb to all-out frustration and defeatism. What is most important for you is to have a correct idea as to the nature of these struggles and to acquire an appropriate understanding about the correct political line that should govern these struggles. Your day-to-day struggles for achieving certain political and economic demands, for the preservation and extension of democratic rights etc. shall have to be developed into struggles for the overthrow of capitalism. When you will be able to acquire this correct political approach and adopt correct style of work it is then and then only that you will be able to influence and change the present situation. Otherwise, simply raising slogans against the Congress, winning elections and even forming an alternative government and also conducting innumerable battles for proper distribution of land and higher wage—you will not be able to bring about any change in the existing state of affairs. But these battles which you have to conduct on and often will bring about a change in the situation, will ameliorate the sufferings of the people if, while conducting these battles you become politically conscious, remain firm about your political aim, can give such political shape to your organisation that with the help of it you can ultimately overthrow the exploitative capitalist system, that is the capitalist state. With this end in view you will have to build up the committees of K & K.M.F. in such a way—starting from the villages, anchals up to district levels—so

that the members of the committees themselves can chalk out their own plans and programmes, can conduct the battles, can lead the village people, can confront any difficult situation, can keep themselves continuously free from the influence of sham Marxism, do not miss the political angularity being perplexed in the midst of setbacks and remain firmly convinced that by conducting relentless struggles, sustained, protracted struggles in this way, capitalism will come to an end today or tomorrow. To build up such an invincible, politically conscious organisation means to build up political power in the hands of the people. By the term political power of the people we never mean formation of a Government with the representatives of the people. To build up political power in the hands of the people means only one thing i.e. the people have been able to build up such politically conscious organisation of their own that they can not only conduct local struggles for achieving certain demands but can also, in the event of breaking up of such a situation, start insurrection for seizure of power. They are able to conduct their battles against the police, military and the Government in the teeth of severe repression. Exactly this thing occurred in Vietnam where the people could be smashed in the ground by incessant bombing but they did not run away giving up their struggles.

And who were those people that did not give up their struggles in Vietnam? I remind you all—they were all peasants, just like you. They fought with rifles on their shoulders but when the planes and bombers of the enemy were absent they came out of the trenches and started working in the fields. They faced the enemy with bullets but when the enemy fled away they were all engaged in cultivation. When they

could not withstand the attack of the enemy they used to retreat only to launch an organized offensive in future. But what they did not lose is their firm determination, courage, strength of mind and a clear-cut political objective. For them it was ousting American imperialism, giving defeat to Saigon Government and establishment of a People's Democratic State. For you it is overthrow of the bourgeoisie from power i.e. the overthrow of capitalism and capitalist state and establishment of socialism and socialist state. The Vietnamese people did never give such an excuse—"How can we fight as we have no planes, tanks, bombers, ammunition etc?" They did not make such pleas. Were they not human beings? Were they not peasants? Were they not in starving condition? Did they not have to suffer from hunger, want and all that? You should keep in your mind that their conditions were exactly the same as that of yours. Then, what precisely did give them this spirit and strength with the help of which they could continue such a gigantic struggle? It was only because they were politically conscious. Because they did not commit any mistake to find out the correct path of struggle and above all the correct political line and the correct political party. So, it is my earnest request to you all—don't forget that a party does not become a genuinely Marxist-Leninist party simply because of its identity as a Marxist-Leninist or because it raises mouthful slogans of "socialism" and "revolution". To shout slogans for revolution and to speak in vague terms about Marxism-Leninism can never be the prime task of a real revolutionary party. The fundamental task of a genuine revolutionary party is to provide concrete analysis of the concrete condition of that country and on the basis of

that analysis to formulate the correct strategy of revolution and also to link up the day-to-day struggles for developing an effective political organisation capable of leading the revolutionary struggles. But the pseudo-Marxists of our country have on and often created serious confusions with regard to characterisation of rural economy of India and it is my experience that most of their confusions are generally found to be generated centring round the question of rural economy. Although I have already explained how the rural economy of India has been already transformed into a capitalist economy carrying with it some remnants of feudalism still then let me take up this question again from another angle.

Problems of rural economy

Let us, therefore, examine what are the real problems of rural economy? As for example, we very often raise slogans—"Give land to the tillers." Your organisation, K & K.M.F. also raised this slogan and you people have built up struggles on so many occasions on the basis of this demand. But you will have to understand—is it the main and fundamental problem of peasants' life? It is true that we will have to struggle hard to acquire the *benam* land above the ceiling and to distribute the same among the landless peasants, agricultural labourers and poor peasants. It may also be necessary to organise struggles for bringing down the present ceiling so that more land may be distributed among the peasants. But from all these, if you think that the fundamental problem of peasants' life is to give them some land, you will commit serious mistakes. Because, first of all, we should know that the total land that is available in India is not adequate enough for providing each

family with at least that holding of land which we may call economic. Naturally, a huge number of rural population will not get any land even if we acquire the total available land and distribute it among the peasants. Secondly, we know that population increases but the land does not and there is a limit of increasing the productivity of land. Now, if we decide to allot only 9 bighas of land then also we cannot give it to each and every family of landless agricultural labourers and poor peasants even if the total available land is acquired. Although the economic holding of land as calculated some two decades ago came to 12 bighas which quite logically may be taken today as 15 bighas due to rising of price index etc., still then, I stick to 9 bighas for my present calculation. Now, a particular peasant who can anyhow make both ends meet with 9 bighas of land at present for him also the economic condition is bound to become worse in course of time. If we assume the number of children to be three as per Govt.'s family planning, which is seldom true in case of rural life, then also the per-capita distribution of land will come to 3 bighas only.

Can anybody live on 3 bighas of land? What will happen when the number of members of the family will further increase after their marriage? Thus it is crystal clear that though the acquiring of land and its distribution among the peasants is still a very important programme of peasant struggle, it is not the main problem of rural agricultural economy and of the peasants' life. The fundamental problem is to provide employment not only for those who will not get any land during distribution but also for the ever increasing multitude of population which is bound to grow in the villages. This is the fundamental problem of peasants' life. But how can we open up employment

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Distribution of land to the tillers, although a very important programme of peasants' struggle, cannot provide fundamental solution of peasants life

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opportunities for the ever-increasing population until and unless we are able to open the flood-gate of industrial revolution? But the fact is this that because of capitalist economy all doors of industrial development have been closed in our country. Thirdly, for increasing the productivity of land, for improving the livelihood of the rural population and for supplying raw materials for industries it is essential to modernise our agriculture which may be conducive to industrial revolution. But here also it is capitalism that stands as the stumbling block. Nobody can achieve this modernisation of agriculture maintaining the present capitalist system. As capitalist relation of production today is acting as a severe brake in the process, the capitalists are opposed to modernisation and mechanisation of agriculture. They can ill-afford to do this. Why the capitalists cannot afford to do it—that also you shall have to understand.

You must understand—what is the real situation of our country today? About 75% of our total population live in villages. About 51—53% of those who reside in villages and are connected with agricultural economy in this or that way, constitute landless peasants and agricultural labourers. Those who have 1 to 5 bighas of land are about 15% of the rural population. The lower-middle peasants constitute, having 5 to 15 bighas of land, another 15% of rural population. Thus, about 83% of the rural population constitute the proletariat and semi-proletarian strata of the masses in rural areas and these people have absolutely no means of subsistence, no purchasing capacity and no means at all to live on. Please do not look into Government's statistics formulated by some specialised Pundits who wrongly take the agricultural labourer as one having absolutely no

land at all. But peasants having 1 to 3 bighas of land who are engaged as labourers elsewhere also, constitute a large section of agricultural labourers in our country. A great majority of this vast section remain unemployed throughout the whole year leading life in a half-fed and half-clad condition. Thus 83% of rural population have practically very little or no purchasing capacity at all. So in a country like India how can we think of expansion of market where 75% of the total population live in villages 83% of which again have no purchasing capacities at all? How can there be constant increase of demand in the market? And if the demand does not increase why will the capitalists produce at all whose main concern is market and nothing else? This is the main reason for which there is no urge for industrial expansion in our country. In fact, the social tendency to invest capital in industry is absent today. Sm. Indira Gandhi is, of course, carrying out vile propaganda and in order to confuse the educated people that it is because of dearth of capital that India is unable to achieve industrial expansion. I say, this is pure and simple lie—a blatant lie. Uninterrupted development of industry is impossible today as social urge for the same is absent due to low purchasing capacity of the people and the continuously squeezing of internal market. If Sm. Indira Gandhi's contention is correct, may we ask why has the huge capital that is being formed in the hands of the land-owning class by the selling of crops and which is being accumulated in the hands of the industrialists and commercialists in spite of recession, become bureaucratic and idle and not invested for industrial development? Not only that; not to speak of new investment in industries why is it that full utilisation of installed

capacity is not possible today? Why these lay-offs? Why do you find regular closure of industries? Why does continuous threat of lay-off hang over the working-class? What do all these things mean? It means precisely one thing that the installed capacity of industries and the labour power of the workers are forcibly kept idle. An elementary sense of economics will tell that where there is urge for production, where there is continuous expansion of market such things can never happen. In a poor country like ours, where the people cannot even meet bare necessities of life, the economy is always threatened with the crisis of over-production due to squeezing of internal market in the event of any attempt to utilise fully the installed capacity of industries. This very crisis of the capitalist system is obstructing the process of mechanisation of agriculture. Because, in absence of constant boosting of industry the problem of unemployment in towns and cities is also constantly on the increase. On the other hand it has already been stated that majority of rural population remain unemployed throughout the whole year. Excepting the period of sowing and harvesting they remain practically unemployed. This very situation compels them to go out of hearth and home and to roam about in the streets of different cities in search of job or employment. If in such a situation anybody thinks of introducing mechanisation of agriculture then the entire village population who are engaged today in land will be thrown out of employment. Those who are half-employed being very nominally engaged in land, who are small farmers having 2-4 bighas of land—all of them will lose even that. If big farming is introduced and scientific methods are implemented for cultivation then it will

augment production no doubt but the question is, how will the capitalist economy of India face the challenge of the problem of unemployment? Thus the sole contention of the capitalists is to confine and arrest the majority of rural population with very small holding of land in a half-fed and half-clad condition by preserving the antiquated methods of agriculture. This is why they are clamouring for certain palliatives of the type of Green-revolution etc. This is the crux of the land reform policy of the Congress which they are trying to pass on as "progressive." Now if we find that those political parties who are known as Marxist-Leninist are also suggesting the same type of land reform policy of distribution of land to the tillers as the only solution of agricultural problem, which in fact means to confine and arrest the multitude of rural population with a very small holding of land in a half-fed and half-clad condition then we must understand that these political parties are not essentially different from the bourgeois parties excepting in their language, slogan, vocabulary and mode of propaganda. This is a method of confining the entire village population with 1, 2 or 3 bighas of land in a half-fed and half-clad condition just like the uncivilised men of the primitive age. This, I understand, may be a task for the agents of capitalism who are trying to save capitalism getting no way out in face of the constant threat of unemployment problem but how can it be programme of those who claim themselves as Marxist-Leninist! The genuine Marxist-Leninist should plead for modernisation and improvement of agriculture along with distribution of land to the landless agricultural labourers and the poorest strata of the peasantry.

For that purpose, they should strive to break the old and moribund system

that exists today. Since in doing so they will find that it is capitalism that is acting as a stumbling block, they will have to break the existing capitalist system as a whole. While raising the slogan of "land to the tillers" they should at the same time speak of introduction of scientific methods in the field of agriculture, speak of seizure of power by overthrowing the capitalist state. Because we all know that we can have unfettered development of industries only by overthrowing capitalist state thereby freeing our production from the grip and tentacles of capitalist exploitation. It is then only that all persons who will become unemployed due to mechanisation of agriculture will be easily absorbed in constantly growing industries. So the village people who, for their own interest, want introduction of machines and tractors will have to speak for revolution and destruction of capitalism.

Anti-capitalist socialist revolution—the only way-out

Thus you find that you have mainly three problems before you. First, the problem of unemployment, secondly, the question of modernisation of agriculture and thirdly, the problem of industrial revolution and unfettered development of industries with which the first two questions are intimately linked up. Because, if we cannot open up the flood-gate of industrial revolution it is not possible either to modernise agriculture and thereby create continuous extension of internal market or to solve the problem of unemployment. And we all know that for achieving this we will have to organise anti-capitalist socialist revolution in our country. So evading this fundamental question and avoiding this main task under whatsoever pretext, under whatever varieties of the theories of People's Democratic revolution represent in our country nothing but different varieties of social

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Establish Real Revolutionary Leadership In Mass Struggles

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democratic trend in the mass struggle.

But in India excepting SUCI not a single political party which is known as Marxist-Leninist e.g. the CPI. or the CPI(M) is clearly speaking for anti-capitalist socialist revolution. No doubt, they speak of fighting against monopoly capitalism. When the entire capitalist system is responsible for the exploitation of the people, these political parties are very cleverly putting the whole blame upon a few individual monopolists with a view to shielding the nature of capitalist exploitation from the purview of the people. In fact monopoly capitalism is a particular stage of development of capitalism and nothing else. How can you overthrow the rule of monopoly without overthrowing bourgeoisie from power and overthrowing capitalist state and capitalist system? Under the circumstances, all talks of fight against monopoly capitalism are bound to turn into some empty but mouthful slogans, into a hoax if one does not have any programme of anti-capitalist revolution. You all know that even Sm. Indira Gandhi in her speeches does not lag behind to speak against monopoly. Now a days the Chhatra Parisad and the Juba Congress quite ostensibly raise slogans against monopoly capitalism. They are also seriously striving to protect the bourgeois class as a whole from the wrath of the people by putting the entire onus of bourgeois class rule on the shoulders of some individual monopolists. It is quite obvious, therefore, that the real motive of these parties does not fundamentally differ from that of Indira Congress in so far as the question of protecting the bourgeois class is concerned by making a few individual monopolists and not the capitalist system as a whole their enemy in spite

of the fact that these parties are doing the same with red flags in their hands and in the name of either National Democratic Revolution or Peoples' Democratic Revolution.

In our country, whatever may be its backwardness, it is capitalist exploitation, the exploitation of capital that constitutes the main enemy of the people. The exploitation in agriculture is exploitation of capital. Land here has been transformed into a means of production and the agricultural produce is sold in the national market for having profit. By investing capital in land it is possible to have profit, to extract lakhs of rupees as profit. The land here has just been converted into a means in which capital can be invested for producing commodities for selling in the national capitalist market in order to get profit out of it. In this process of agricultural production in land due to the compromising nature of capitalism some feudal features have been mixed up with the main capitalist relation of production and capitalist exploitation just like impurities, just like alloy of gold. So the question is whom to fight against—against this impurity, against this alloy or against capitalism as such which is the root cause of exploitation! Those who talk of fighting against this feudal remnant which is present as an impurity as an alloy being the inevitable outcome of backwardness of Indian capitalism instead of fighting against the main enemy, the capitalism as such are, in fact, pleading in favour of capitalist exploitation despite their tall talk against bourgeoisie and all that. This, you must understand very clearly. You will have to understand that those who have wielded the state-power, i.e. the bourgeoisie, the capitalist, are your main enemy. Those who try to confuse this fundamental question, mislead the people, hide the truth

those who try to pose the trifling matters as serious questions in order to cover the truth are the worst enemies of the people even if they are known as Marxist-Leninist.

Strengthen SUCI—the only revolutionary party in India

Thus you can very easily understand that the main three questions, the question of solution of unemployment problem, the question of modernisation of agriculture and also the question of industrial development all these questions are closely related with the question of overthrow of the capitalist economic system and the capitalist state structure as a whole. So the Indian revolution is a revolution for overthrowing capitalism, for removing the bourgeoisie from the state-power. If we can overthrow bourgeois class from the state power then and then only we will be able to do away with imperialist exploitation and give up feudal habit which are still there in village life. So it is this anti-capitalist revolution that you will have to organise for which of course you will have to find out a real revolutionary party. SUCI is that revolutionary party in India. You will have to remember that up till now the Indian workers, peasants and the youths have had no mean record of sacrifice, bloodshed and loss of life; on so many occasions they have burst out in indignation and rallied behind so many political parties. But still then, they have not achieved freedom from all sorts of exploitation. Because, the political parties who were so long at the leadership of struggles on all-India level are all petty-bourgeois, parliamentary parties in spite of their lip service to Marxism-Leninism and revolution. They are concealed revisionist parties. They raise slogans against imperialism and monopoly capitalism only

to conceal capitalist exploitation and repression of the bourgeois class. It is for this reason that all your struggles, despite tremendous sacrifice on your part, fell on the ground. So I appeal to you all to take this pledge from this conference—that while conducting your day-to-day struggles you will organise village-wise, area-wise strong local Committees of the party as well as of K. K. M. F. These committees should be politically conscious so much so that they can face any eventuality, fight to any extent giving up their individual interest and can organise the landless agricultural labourers, poor peasants, and middle peasants in their struggle for emancipation on correct line by making them free from the clutches of all other opportunistic forces. It is sure, today or to-morrow there will be revolution in India. If you take twenty years to strength SUCI, the genuine and only revolutionary party in India, to build up village-wise strong organisation of SUCI then Indian revolution shall have to wait for twenty more years. But if the Indian people can free themselves from the influence of these pseudo-revolutionary parties and organise themselves under the banner of SUCI within ten years, can build up these committees in every localities then there is no doubt that you will see the prairie fire of revolution within ten years. Everybody wants a change and a revolution and the situation is also well-nigh explosive for that. The only thing which is lacking and for which you will have to wait, is the establishment of the leadership a real revolutionary party and to make that party sufficiently strong. If you cannot build up that real revolutionary party and establish its leadership then revolution will not break out automatically and spontaneously. The false illusion about the fake

parties also cannot bring about revolution. These pseudo-revolutionary parties will no doubt drag our people ultimately to elections to become a privileged few in spite of so much sabre-rattling at present. So unless and until you can strengthen the real revolutionary party then all your sacrifice will again and again end in fiasco as was in the past and you will not achieve emancipation from all sorts of exploitation. In this connection I like to remind you a famous utterance of Lenin. He said to the down-trodden people that in spite of glorious battles, in spite of any amount of victory in democratic struggles, until and unless the exploited masses can find out three things i.e. the revolutionary theory, the correct revolutionary path and a real revolutionary party they cannot free themselves from all sorts of exploitation tremendous sacrifice on their part notwithstanding. With these few words and appealing you again to make the SUCI and the K.K.M.F. strong by all possible means I finish my speech. Long live revolution.

RESIST ATTACK ON WORKING CLASS

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would be the bounden duty of every class-conscious worker to put sufficient pressure to bear upon the left and democratic parties and forces for immediately forging a United Front, to put up a solid resistance to the different pernicious class policies of the bourgeoisie, to bring the base political line of the proletariat in the fore and the ideological-political leadership of the party of the proletariat in the stewardship of the broad-based mighty and sustained mass democratic movements, so that end of the hated class rule of the bourgeoisie comes nearer and nearer.